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THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

The "Two Gentlemen of Verona" is remarkable for the close relation it bears to several other of the plays we know as Shakespeare's. This resemblance is in some instances so strong that many critics have expressed the belief that we find in the Two Gentlemen the prototype of other later and more successful plays, or, as Mr. Hales puts it, this comedy abounds in germs from which other plays have sprung or been developed. This close relation is quite apparent between our drama and several of the other Italian plays, at even a hasty reading, and it can be traced in a resemblance in thought, incident, character and expression. This similarity or repetition is most marked perhaps in the Merchant of Venice and Twelfth Night, but can also be readily found in As You Like It, and Romeo and Juliet, while some critics claim to trace it in Midsummer's Night and All's Well. On the other hand, no special relation seems to exist between the Two Gentlemen and the earlier comedies, as I think them, Love's Labor Lost and The Taming of the Shrew, or the later Italian play of Much Ado which seems rather affiliated to the plays last referred to.

Without going too far into particulars as showing this relation, I may advert in connection with Romeo and Juliet to the fact that both these plays open in Verona. In both the hero is banished from the presence of his love, and seeks refuge in flight to Mantua. Banishment in both plays is complained of as worse than death.

Thus, in The Two Gentlemen, III. i. 171, VALENTINE says:—

> "To die is to be banished from myself
> And Sylvia is myself; banished from her
> Is self from self; a deadly banishment."

While, in Romeo and Juliet, III. ii. 108, JULIET says:—

> "Some word there was worse than Tybalt's death,
> That murdered me; * * * banished
> That banished, that one word—banished
> Had slain ten thousand Tybalts."

Valentine's ridicule of love in the first scene resembles Mercutio's more elaborate mockery; and Julia's description of her passion at times reminds us of Juliet's intensity of feeling.

Sylvia seeks Friar Patrick's cell as Juliet resorts to Friar Lawrence, and by a curious blunder in line 40 of scene ii. of Act V., "Friar Lawrence" is printed in the First Folio for "Friar Patrick." Turning to the Merchant of Venice, the scene between Portia and Nerissa, particularly the description of Portia's lovers, is an amplification or higher development of the idea of the scene in the first act of the Two Gentlemen between Julia and Lucetta, and the relation between Launce and Launcelot Gobbo is obvious. This instance of Launce is, I believe, the only case where the personage in the Two Gentlemen is the superior, for all critics admit that Launce is a more amusing clown than even his namesake Launcelot. Both plays are based on the cardinal thought of devoted friendship between men, but in the Merchant there is a little ridicule cast in the conclusion, by Portia, on the supposed preference given to friendship's duty over the obligation to a wife. In As You Like It we find, in the well known speeches of the banished Duke and his companions in the forest of Arden, an amplification and development of Valentine's beautiful speech Act V. sc. iv., beginning:

> "How use doth breed a habit in a man.
> These shadowy, desert, unfrequented woods,
> I better brook than flourishing peopled towns."

In both we have allusions to Robin Hood's life with his comrades under the green wood tree, so dear to English hearts. But to Twelfth Night the resemblance is closest; the Julia story in many respects prefigures that of Viola. Both disguise themselves as boys, and seek employment, the one with her forgetful lover, the other with the Duke whose love is still in the future; both are sent to woo their respective rivals for their masters, the one wins the love of Olivia, the other the sympathetic tenderness of Silvia. As a boy, Julia takes the name Sebastian which belongs to Viola's twin brother. The critics and editors find many more instances, but these will

suffice to show that we seem in this play to find the Master at work, and producing the first trial sketches of what were to be afterwards among his most brilliant triumphs. It seems to me, therefore, that the play has a special and peculiar interest apart from its own merit, in giving us a little more insight into the author's mind and thought, than his more complete and perfect compositions, of which it reminds us.

No quarto edition of our comedy appears ever to have been published and the first and virtually the only text we have is that of the First Folio. That the Two Gentlemen is an early play there is no doubt, but that it is Shakespeare's first comedy, or even one of his earliest dramas, is uncertain. Malone at first adopted the theory of a comparatively late date but his final conclusion was in favor of the extremely early date of 1591, bracketing it with Henry VI, and placing it before the Comedy of Errors or Love's Labor Lost. This has been the usual opinion of critics, though it is attended with many difficulties, and of recent years Delius has adopted a still earlier date putting it before Henry VI, and classing it with Titus Andronicus, which it certainly little resembles. On the other hand, Chalmers and Bernard Drake, both careful students, adhered to Malone's earlier against his later conclusions, and argued strongly in favor of a date certainly not earlier than 1593 and probably as late as 1595, and among recent critics Mr. Fleay supports their conclusions. Many writers have, I think, been led to their conclusion of the early date of the Two Gentlemen, because of its supposed inferiority to most of Shakespeare's plays. This is a most unreliable ground of belief since it depends very largely upon individual tastes, which widely differ, and does not allow for the difference in mind, mood and condition in an author's mind, at one period or another, which may make a subsequent work inferior to its predecessor. Steevens, I think, says rightly that from mere inequality in works of imagination nothing can with exactness be inferred. Theobald calls it one of Shakespeare's worst plays; Hanmer thinks Shakespeare only enlivened it with some speeches and lines thrown in here and there. Mrs. Lenox says "'Tis generally allowed that the plot, conduct, manners and incidents of this play are extremely deficient." Coleridge calls it only a sketch. Mr. Hales thinks meagreness of characterization and comparative feebleness of moral sense and insight, are important arguments for an early date. On the other hand, Pope considers the Two Gentlemen remarkable among Shakespeare's plays, for its natural unaffected style. Hallam praises the characters "drawn from social life as at once ideal and true." Dr. Johnson discriminatingly remarks that the Two Gentlemen abounds in γνωμαι or sententious observations beyond

most of Shakespeare's plays and that few have more lines or passages, which singly considered, are so eminently beautiful.

The first and only positive evidence of the date of our drama is its mention by Francis Meres in the familiar passage as one of Shakespeare's comedies in his Palladis Tamia, 1598. We know therefore that it had been produced on the stage at that time. It was never printed until it appeared in the First Folio. No argument can be drawn from the "Gentlemen" coming first in Meres's enumeration of the comedias, for Richard Second is placed first in the same paragraph in the list of tragedies, even before Titus Andronicus; so it is clear that Meres did not mean his recital to be in chronological sequence. At first sight it might be thought we could fix 1598 as the very year of our comedy's production, from the fact that it was in 1598 that Bartholomew Young's translation of the Diana of George de Montemayor was published. This celebrated Spanish novel contains the story of Felismena from which there is little doubt, as I think I will show later to your satisfaction, that the portion of the plot relating to Proteus and Julia is taken. But this inference is rendered inconclusive by the fact which Young mentions in his preface, that he had had this translation lying by him for sixteen years before publishing it. Young seems in fact to have commenced this translation upon his return from Spain in 1579, and finished it a few years later. We are also informed of the existence of two other translations of parts of the Diana, one by Edward Paxton, Esq., the other of the first part by Thomas Wilson; this last was dedicated in 1596 to Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southhampton, so that nothing would seem more likely than that Shakespeare had access to it. It does not seem that either of these partial versions was ever printed. We also know from the "Revels Accounts" that there was acted at Greenwich on the day after New Year's, 1584-5, a play called Phelix and Philiomena. This play which has not come down to us may have been and probably was another version of the same Spanish story. The change from Felismena to Philliemena is not a difficult one and in my copy of the Diana (Gilpolo, London, 1730), the name is printed Philismena. In the then scarcity of the supply of novels and stories, the Diana attained immediate and widespread fame and popularity. You will remember it was highly praised by Cervantes and saved by the priest from the fate of the greater part of Don Quixote's books at the hands of his niece and housekeeper.

There were, therefore, at least three sources, probably four, from which Shakespeare could have obtained the Proteus and Julia story during several years preceding 1598. There would seem, however, a certain probability

that his immediate source was Thomas Wilson's translation (about 1595) dedicated to the Earl of Southhampton.

Bompas and other Baconians take for granted, totally without evidence, that this lost play of Felix and Philiomena which was produced in 1584-5, was not only founded on the same story as the Two Gentlemen but that it was the work of the same author, thus seeking to throw the date too far back for any probability of its being Shakespeare's production. It seems to me that they fall frequently into this error of thinking that two plays founded on the same story must necessarily be two forms of the same play, or at least by the same author, and fail to understand Shakespeare's frequent practice of rewriting or writing upon an existing play, using as much or as little of his predecessor's work as he pleased. It was this very practice which led to Green's violent attack upon him. Fixing, however, Meres's date, 1598, as the latest possible date of our comedy's production, Bernard Drake has sought to establish by internal evidence a limit on the other side earlier than which its composition cannot be placed. Several of these arguments of Drake seem to be inconclusive though plausible. Thus with regard to the allusion in II, i, "Like one that had the pestilence," I cannot see any necessary reference to the epidemic of plague which prevailed in London in 1593. In those days the pestilence was too frequent a visitor to England's crowded towns for this special application to be necessary. So the allusion to "some of the wars," I, iii, might refer to many a series of wars as well as to those of 1595. The supposed reference in I, iii, "Some to discover islands far away" to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's or Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage, in 1594 and 1595, is more plausible but not convincing. But I confess that the allusion to Hero and Leander, in the first scene, seems to me clearly to point to Marlowe's poem which was not published until 1593 and to furnish evidence of great weight that the date cannot be earlier than late 1593 or early 1594. This is the passage:

> Val. And on a love-book pray for my success,
> Pro. Upon some book I love I'll pray for thee
> Val. That's on some shallow story of deep love,
> How young Leander cross'd the Hellespont.

Now it is very clear that the allusion is not merely to the story of Hero and Leander, but to a book containing the tale and to a book with which the audience were sufficiently familiar to recognize it as an amatory poem, and see the fun of the idea of Proteus's using it as a missal. Marlowe's beautiful poem, though unfinished, fills every call in this description. It was entered

for publication in 1593, and, I believe, published soon afterwards, though Collier (on what authority I know not) says it was not actually published until 1598. It was completed by Chapman, and at once attained great popularity. No other English book or poem on the Hero and Leander story is known to have existed in the 16th Century, and no other translation or imitation of Musaeus's poem on the subject. Shakspeare was certainly familiar with the story of Hero and Leander after 1593, since it was alluded to in Romeo and Juliet (the date of which Malone fixes as 1596) Much Ado, and As You Like It, and in the part of Edward III usually attributed to Shakespeare; and Drake boldly asserts that no allusion to the story of Hero and Leander can be found either in Shakespeare or elsewhere in English literature before 1593, and I have seen no attempt to contradict this statement. It seems to me, therefore, that this date, 1593, is almost as firmly and safely fixed as a limit of earliness of date as the mention of Meres fixes the limit of lateness of the production as 1598. Between these dates there is nothing very definite, unless we accept the argument of the allusion to voyages of discovery as referring to Raleigh and Gilbert in which case we will be brought down to about 1595. Mr. Fleay thinks this date strongly confirmed by his rhyme test: His analysis showing that the Two Gentlemen contains but 116 rhymed lines to 1510 of blank verse, or about 1 to 13, against about 1 to 5 in Romeo and Juliet, 1 to 4 in Richard II, 1 to 3 in Comedy of Errors, while Love's Labor Lost has more rhyme than blank verse, and in Midsummer's Night the proportions are nearly equal.

It is evident, however, that too much confidence cannot be placed in this test since it would also make Twelfth Night and All's Well antedate our comedy.

It has further occurred to me, though I make the suggestion with diffidence as I have not seen it elsewhere, that possibly Valentine's lines descriptive of Love's trials, I, 1, 32,

> "One moment's Mirth
> With twenty watchful turning nights.
> If haply WON, perhaps a hapless gain;
> If LOST why then a grievous LABOR WON;"

may contain a reference to the two early plays also mentioned by Meres, Love's Labor Lost and Love's Labor Won. It may be that the thought thus expressed was the germ of two plays on the subject, but it seems more likely that Shakespeare was alluding to something familiar to his audiences.

There is also, of course, the probability suggested by some critics that the earlier parts of the play, particularly the first two acts, were revised or rewritten some years after the first production. But the passage would seem to me to imply prima facia that our comedy was later than Love's Labor Lost and Love's Labor Won.

As I have before argued, I think the principal source of the plot is clearly the story of Felismena taken from the Diana of George de Montemayor above referred to. Shakespeare may have become acquainted with it either directly from seeing Young's translation before its publication during the sixteen years he had it lying by him, or he may have read it in Wilson's or Paxton's translations of part of the Diana mentioned by Farmer, which are not now extant, or he may have found the incidents in the lost play of Felix and Philiomena acted in Greenwich in 1584-5, which was probably founded on the same story, since Don Felix is Felismena's lover in the drama. Even a cursory glance at the story which is printed by Hazlitt will satisfy the unprejudiced reader that the origin of the story of Julia and Proteus is in Felismena. We find in this tale the incidents of the love letter and Felismena's hesitation to receive it from her maid Rosina; the lover being sent by his father to travel and see the world and particularly to visit the evidently Imperial court of the Princess Augusta Cesarina; the assumption by the heroine of a youth's dress to follow her lover; the incident of the host of the inn at which she stops, taking her to hear a serenade, when she hears her lover's voice singing to her rival; her engagement as Don Felix's page and her employment to carry his letters and gifts to the lady who has won his love. It is suggested that Shakespeare obtained some hints for the story of Valentine from Sidney's Arcadia, but this seems rather farfetched, as the only incident relied on, is the familiar one of the hero, when captured by brigands, becoming one of the band to save his life, and afterwards becoming their captain.

There are several errors, inconsistencies and contradictions in the comedy, some of which may be explained satisfactorily by the probable theory that the play or at least the latter portion of it was for some reason never revised by Shakespeare, but others are harder to account for or reconcile. We have first the description of Verona as a seaport, and the circumstance of both Valentine and Proteus going thence to Milan by vessel. The scene of the Felismena story is in Spain, or at least not in Italy, so there is no clue to the origin of this statement, in the novel. We have seen, however, the close relation between this play and Romeo and Juliet, the scene of both of which is laid in Verona, and it appears probable

that both of these plays were more or less in the author's brain at the same time. Now the scene of Rhomeo and Julietta, in Painter's Palace of Pleasure, is laid in Verona, and in describing that City, the writer of Rhomeo and Julietta says:

"Few cities in Italie can surpass the said citie of Verona, as well for the navigable river called Adissa which passeth almost through the midst of the same and thereby a great trafique into Almayne, as also for the prospect towards the fertile mountains and pleasant vallies which do environ the same, with a great number of very clear lively fountains that serve for the ease and commodity of the place."

It seems evident to me that the writer of both plays, while he did not use this bit of information in Romeo and Juliet, was glad to profit by it as a safe piece of local color in his other Veronese drama, The Two Gentlemen, and was probably misled by the reference to the "trafique into Almayne" into the thought that this "trafique" was via Milan (long recognized as the seat of imperial power in Italy), over the St. Gothard, instead of being, as of course it was, by the Brenner Pass through the Tyrol into Austria. No doubt this shows an imperfect knowledge of north Italian geography, but not such gross ignorance as is sometimes imputed to the author of our comedy. It is, of course, a mistake such as a learned man, like Bacon, could never have fallen into, but which was not unnatural as an actor whose self education was still in course of completion. The author recognized that Mantua could only be reached from Milan or Verona by land, as we see in the 4th and 5th acts of this play, and also in Romeo's journeys from Verona to Mantua, but the navigability of the Adige, which is, of course, the Adissa, and the possibility of traffic with Almayne by this route, were impressed on the writer's mind and led him into this seeming absurdity. If Shakespeare visited Venice at some time, as his familiarity with its leading features have led some of us to believe, it is very clear that he never went to Verona, though he may very likely have seen in Venice, vessels destined thither; for, having accepted the navigability of the Adige, he proceeded to better his instructions by making, as you will see, Valentine's ship lie out in the roadstead, so as to have to be reached by small boats or lighters after she had been warped out; showing a very exaggerated idea of the stream which, though deep, is quite narrow and rapid, so that it must have taken pretty hard rowing to take a galley up the river, though it was easy enough to descend. It is probably hard for us to realize in these days, however, the vastly larger proportionate amount of travel along the river courses during the Middle Ages, owing to the badness and danger of the roads.

Karl Elze, in his essay on Shakespeare's travels has discussed the subject of canal and river navigation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century, but concludes that it could not have been possible to go from Verona to Milan by water. I do not, however, think this is so clear; the difficulty, of course, is that owing to differences of level, particularly between the Po and the Adige, a canal without locks would not have answered the purpose. There is considerable doubt as to the exact period of the construction of a canal with locks in North Italy, but as Leonardo da Vinci is pretty well established to have been if not the inventor of locks on canals, at least their introducer into Northern Italy, and as his period well ante-dates Shakespeare, there seems no reason why a canal with locks connecting the rivers Po and Adige may not have been in existence in the latter half of the Sixteenth Century. We know that in the Eighteenth Century Arthur Young used such a canal in going to Venice, as also Goethe is related to have made by river and canal a journey from Padua to Venice and thence to Ferrara. An English traveller a few years later gives the journey in greater detail; coming from Ferrara, he embarked at Lago Scuro with his baggage in a large flat bottomed vessel coming down the Po. He dined and slept comfortably on the boat and on the following morning his vessel with its freight and passengers was transferred by means of a lock to a canal, along which he progressed to the Adige, down which the course ran for a few miles when another canal took them into one of the Venetian Lagoons. It would therefore seem not impossible that a galley of light draught might have gone down the Adige and been transferred by the canal and lock to the Po, and rowed up that river to Milan with possibly the assistance of another lock. May we not conceive therefore that Shakespeare in after supper talk over his sherris sack at a tavern, catechizing his picked man of countries, may have heard such a traveller tell of having gone in a vessel from Verona to Milan, and that having in mind English ideas of navigation, he took it for granted the journey was in a sea-going ship subject to the vicissitudes of wind and tide?

Commentators have also found a seeming contradiction in the facts that when Valentine in the first act, and afterwards Proteus in the second, leave Verona and journey to Milan, the object of their going is to wait upon the Emperor in his Court. When however, they reach Milan in the latter part of the second act, and through the whole of the last three acts, we find the Two Gentlemen at the Ducal Court in that city in attendance on the Duke of Milan and his daughter; and no further allusion is made to the Emperor. It is probable that the idea of waiting on the Emperor was taken

from the story of Felismana in the Diana, where it is related that Don Felix was sent by his father to the court of the great Princess Augusta Cesarina, a lady evidently from her name, of Imperial rank and descent. The subsequent change to the Duke under whose absolute government we find the city of Milan is certainly surprising, particularly as there is no reference to the Emperor or his departure. The change has been variously accounted for. Perhaps the easiest explanation may be that the first and the later portions of the drama were written at different times and never revised. We certainly find clear marks of haste and absence of revision, particularly in the last two acts, and some discrepancies may be explained on this theory. Charles Knight, however, goes into an ingenious and elaborate discussion about it, and would overcome this difficulty by the theory that Milan remained a fief of the Empire, and the capital of Lombardy, where the Emperor received the Iron Crown; but was in the actual government during the earlier half of the Sixteenth Century (which Knight would take for the period of the action) of the house of Sforza as Dukes; and that when, as not infrequently happened, the Sforza of the day was in alliance with the Emperor against the French, the Emperor might naturally visit the old capital of Lombardy and hold a temporary court there. Another inconsistency has been found in the conduct and character of Sir Eglamour. In the first place Sir Eglamour is mentioned by Lucetta in the first act, as one of the knights on whom she invites Julia's criticism, as "A Knight well spoken, neat and fine."

In the fourth act Silvia sends for Eglamour to aid her escape and tells him she knows him to be "valiant, wise, remorseful, well accomplished" and to have vow'd chastity upon the grave of his dead love, and therefore commits herself to his honor and protection in her flight to seek Valentine. Eglamour accepts the duty saying he does so:

> "Recking as little what betideth me,
> As much I wish all good befortune you."

But in the fifth act when assailed by the brigands, Eglamour at once takes to his heels, and escapes by his nimbleness, leaving Silvia a prey to the robbers. Some critics have thought these and other inconsistencies showed a difference of authorship, but perhaps as Fleay and others suggest, a difference in time of composition and the hasty addition of the fifth act may be a sufficient explanation. The allusion to Eglamour in Lucetta's list as a Verona Gentleman, had perhaps been quite forgotten when he is intro-

duced in the fourth act with the beautiful description of his story and character, and the author had forgotten he had already used the name which he now gave to this grave, pure and noble knight. It is harder to understand, however, how the writer of this beautiful passage in the fourth act, could have made this perfect knight behave in so cowardly and inconsistent a manner in the fifth. It would seem he would have found some other mode of getting Eglamour out of the way to make room for Proteus's rescue. The Eglamour of the fourth act is a man of mature years, approved valour, grave demeanor, incapable of the disgraceful flight of the Eglamour of the fifth act. When we consider the general inferiority of the fifth act, and its evident haste of preparation, shown among other things by its extreme brevity, there is certainly a temptation to entertain the suspicion of its having been added by another hand; but there are passages in even this inferior fifth act, including one beginning the act, spoken by Eglamour himself, which it is hard to attribute to any other writer.

The unnatural conduct of Valentine in the conclusion of the fifth act in expressing his willingness to surrender to his repentant friend all his right in his beloved Sylvia has also been the subject of unmeasured condemnation and reprobation. Various attempts at explanation have been made by several critics, none very successful. Perhaps the easiest mode of getting rid of, or at least softening the difficulty is to treat it as a mere hyperbolical expression not for a moment intended to be taken seriously, and evidently not so understood. It would thus mean no more than the Spaniard's declaration that his house and all its contents are at his guests disposal. It must be confessed, however, that there is a curious similarity between this passage and some of the expressions in the Sonnets where the poet finds the dark Lady long the object of his passion, to have fascinated and become enamoured of his friend, the Master Mistress of his verse. The time of the composition of the Sonnets and the Two Gentlemen are not remote and both may illustrate an exaggerated development of the idea of friendship, which seems the governing thought in the drama, but which was perhaps not of long duration in Shakespeare's thoughts. When we come to the Merchant of Venice which shortly followed the Two Gentlemen in the series of Italian plays, we find not only Shylock deriding the excessive development of this quality, but even Portia, like most of her sex, disposed to revolt at the subordination of the duties of love and marriage to friendship's obligations. If the last act of the Two Gentlemen had been revised we might have had some eloquent words from Sylvia on the same subject.

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"II. Henry IV.," V. iii. 93.—

By'r lady, I think a' be, but goodman Puff of Barson.

So the Cambridge Editors; and Rolfe and every other Editor, so far as I have been able to find, retains the comma between the "be" and the "but." And yet this perfectly destroys the sense! The first folio compositor used a comma for a space-mark: or, perhaps the copy-reader made a pause there. But it is ridiculous to follow palpable typographical errors in the first folio. Typographical errors are not text. Silence has listened for some time to Falstaff's bragging, and mutters to himself; "In my opinion, he (meaning Falstaff) is an old wind-bag!" etc., "Goodman Puff of Barson" being an evident Gloustershire equipollent for a braggart, used discretionately, just as "Brooks of Sheffield" was used to deceive poor little David Copperfield! It seems to me that any babe could understand Silence as saying that he "took no stock" in Falstaff, and meant to say that, instead of being (as Pistol said he was) "one of the greatest men in this realm," he was the same old inflated nobody he was before. To leave the comma where the first folio printer misplaced it, is to make the sentence sheer nonsense.

A. M.

New York Public Library.

"Cymbeline," I. i. 104-5.—

Queen. I never do him wrong,
But he does buy my injuries, to be friends;

I suggest that the word is "by," or: in full, "aby," meaning "he does endure or abide or put up with or submit to or forgive the injuries I do him in order that we may be friends." It does not mean "purchase."

E. W. Harris.

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"Cymbeline," IV. ii. 255-6.—

> Gui. Nay, Caldwal, we must lay his head to the east;
> My father hath a reason for't.

What was the reason?

E. W. Harris.

[Alfred J. Wyatt (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston), in his recent edition, gives the following note:

"The Christian custom of burial is to lay the head to the west and the feet to the east; 'so at the second coming of the Son of Man the dead might rise and face him in the general resurrection' (Lee's Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms, p. 62). In reversing the position, Shakespeare may have had no other intention than to suit the pre-Christian period of his play. But it is at least possible that he was aware of the classical (and Celtic) myth which located the 'Earthly Paradise' in the Fortunate Islands (Avalon) across the western ocean, and which gave rise to the custom of burying the dead with their faces set thitherwards. (See Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. pp. 48, 422, Baring Gould's Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.)"—E. M. D.]

"First Henry VI." I. vi. 6-7.—

> Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens
> That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next.

As to the Gardens of Adonis in this passage, which seem to have been selected as a test of the scholarship shown in the Shakespeare plays, may I add to Mr. Langford's note (page 29, Vol. I), in which he says he should be glad of further comment on this discovery, the following:

Until the year 1883 the commentators of Shakespeare were content to ignore this passage or to dismiss it with the comment that modern scholar-

ship had been unable to find any allusion to Adonis' Gardens in antique literature—all but one. Blakeway said:

"The proverb alluded to seems always to have been used in a bad sense, for things which make a fair show for a few days, and then wither away; but the unknown author of this play, desirous of making a show of his learning, without considering its propriety, has made the Dauphin apply it as an encomium. There is a very good account of it in Erasmus's Adagia." This is the sole comment in the Dyce and the Temple editions.

In Grant White's Shakespeare, 1859, the whole of the note, of which Mr. Langford quoted a part, is as follows: "No mention of any such gardens in the classic writings of Greece or Rome is known to scholars, as the learned Bentley first remarked. The κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος, or gardens of Adonis, were mere pots of earth planted with a little fennel and lettuce, which were borne by women on the feast of Adonis in memory of the lettuce bed in which he was laid by Venus. And yet Milton—no less scholar than a poet—calls Eden, 'Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd, or of reviv'd Adonis, or,' &c. Par. Lost, ix. 440."

In 1883 Mrs. Henry Pott edited Bacon's Promus, otherwise his com-complace book, in which, in his own handwriting appears this: "806. Adonis gardens (things of great pleasure, but soon fading.) (Adonis horti.—Eras. Ad. 23.)." But strangely enough Mrs. Pott does not mention the quotation from First Henry VI. at all, only quoting as follows: "The gardens of love, wherein he now playeth himself, are fresh to day and fading to-morrow. (Gesta Gray.)".

Of course to bloom to day and fructify to-morrow is not exactly the same as to be soon fading, but they are very clearly references to different phases in the same life history; a flower usually fades before the fruit appears, and any plant or garden undergoing such rapid development would naturally be expected to suffer an equally rapid decline, so I think it is fair to assume that the same gardens are referred to in both passages; still so far as I can discover the passage in Plato is the only other one in which exactly the same characteristic is mentioned as is in Henry VI.

In the Nation for Oct. 22, 1903, Mr. Alfred Waites attempts to show that Shakespeare had no need to go back to Plato for his allusion. "Why all this pother?" he says, "Why seek in the classics of Greece and Rome for such a 'reference'? Shakspere need not so far have 'progressed in his studies by March, 1592, as to have mastered the Greek language thus early,' since on the 1st of December, 1589, 'The Faerie Queen' was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company; and early in 1590, the First, Second,

and Third books were published in a small quarto by Ponsonby. Now, in the Third Book, Canto VI., there are about twenty stanzas describing the Gardens of Adonis:

> 'And called is, by her lost lover's name,
> The Garden of Adonis, far renown'd by fame.'
> . . . . . .
> 'There is continual spring, and harvest there
> Continual, both meeting at one time:
> For both the boughs do laughing blossoms bear
> And with fresh colours deck the wanton prime,
> And eke at once the heavy trees they climb,
> Which seem to labour under their fruit's load.'"

Now here is a description of an orchard where trees can be seen at the same time both in flower and fruit, not a very uncommon phenomenon, in tropical and subtropical climates; but what has that to do with the rapid progression of fructification in the gardens "that one day bloom and fruitful are the next," discussed by Plato and Shakespeare? And in any case the commentators were all at sea in the subject till Mrs. Pott and Bacon and Erasmus set them on the right track.

Shortly after the appearance of Mrs. Pott's Promus Mr. Grant White contributed to the Atlantic Monthly a scathing review of that work. But it would appear that while he scathed he somewhere culled knowledge, for in his next Edition published later in the same year, his note on the passages quotes the passage from the Phaedrus as follows: "Would a husbandman, said Socrates, who is a man of sense, take the seeds, which he values and which he wishes to be fruitful, and in sober earnest plant them during the heat of summer, in some Garden of Adonis, that he may rejoice when he sees them in eight days appearing in beauty? Would he not do that, if at all, to please the spectators at a festival? But the seeds about which he is in earnest he sows in fitting soil, and practises husbandry, and is satisfied if in eight months they arrive at perfection." Prof J. D. Butler also noted (SHAKESPEAREANA for May, 1886, p. 231) that this allusion must have been suggested by Plato. They both also refer to Spencer's reference to the garden of Adonis in The Faerie Queen and to Pliny's Nat. Hist. xix. 4. The Cambridge Edition ignores the matter as does the glossary to the Globe Edition, although the latter gives us the startling information that andirons are things to hold up the ends of logs in a fireplace and that All-hallowmas is All Saints Day. What a thing it is to be a scholar! But so far, they have

not seen fit to mention in connection with the matter the names of Bacon or Mrs. Pott. ISAAC HULL PLATT.

"OTHELLO," I. i. 21.—

A fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife;

In his comment on this line, H. C. Hart (Bobbs-Merrill edition) after quoting Dr. Johnson's remark, "This is one of the passages which must for the present be resigned to corruption and obscurity," states, "and many will be inclined to agree with this easy method and leave it so," doubtless using the phrase "easy method" as applying to those who, not finding a satisfactory explanation offered, do not care to think for themselves. To earnest students, however, nothing can be harder than such an admission of defeat.

Mr. Hart's explanation is indicated in the following: "Taking the passage as it stands (numerous unwarrantable alterations have been proposed), it seems necessarily to refer to Cassio's entanglement with Bianca, to be developed later in the play."

I have long been of the opinion that, by imitating something of the mental alertness of Iago, and taking his point of view—seeing evil in all things—together with a full consideration of the circumstances leading up to this conversation between Iago and Roderigo, we need not be at a loss for the true meaning of the line. Is it not hinted that the fact of Othello's having a fair wife makes it unsafe to retain such a man as Michael Cassio in the close relation of lieutenant; that such a circumstance, in itself, is almost enough to damn him for the place, to say nothing of his other supposed disqualifications? Iago often dwells upon Cassio's attractive personality—"framed to make women false."

The evident suggestiveness of the line, together with its utter irrelevancy, so far as bearing on any supposed marital relations of Cassio, first impelled me to look for another meaning. Grant White rejected the theory of any allusion to Bianca, and she is the only woman named (and that in jest) as a possible wife of Cassio. Is it reasonable to believe that Shakespeare's conception of Cassio, the gentlemen (of whom the Venetian state thought so highly as to appoint him the successor of Othello), was so low that Cassio's marriage with a Bianca could at any time be thought a possibility? 'She gives it out that you shall marry her; do you intend it?" says Iago (IV. i. 118), and Cassio replies, "I marry her! what? a customer! Prithee, bear some charity to my wit; do not think it so unwholesome. Ha, ha, ha!" Some would have us believe that Iago had previously spoken of

the marriage as an assured event to take place, although he now shows he has no such knowledge. Of course, he makes this inquiry with a purpose, and merely seeks a laughing denial for its effect upon Othello who thinks they are speaking of Desdemona.

The fact is, the character Bianca is brought in merely to support the handkerchief incident and the deception practiced through the conversation between Cassio and Iago which is witnessed by Othello, and has no existence, stated or inferred, in the earlier portion of the play. She is one of the new dramatis personæ brought forward with the change of scene to Cyprus.

Also, since Iago wants Cassio's place and is urging his own superior claims, he would hardly mention as a disqualification (the possession of a fair wife, actual or prospective) a condition that applies with equal force to himself. Nor is Iago given to such moralizing as would represent him here bemoaning the marital impediment in a man's struggle to insure his soul's salvation. Would an Iago for a moment entertain such a thought? Can we impute such an idealistic, speculative trait to the materialistic, reasoning character of the most consummate villain in all literature?

The marriage of Desdemona is the subject of conversation, and Iago's remarks are intended to show that he had not through loyalty to Othello concealed from Roderigo the fact that the marriage was to take place. As Desdemona is in their thoughts, a reference to her in the line considered should not be obscure. I believe we have here the forenote, the evil thought, which is to ripen into a definite plot, wherein the attractive lieutenant is to be made to appear the object of a fair wife's illicit love, involving the ultimate destruction of them both.

It may be added that this line, with the explanation here offered, is perfectly characteristic of the speaker, and strikes a note that runs all through the play. E. M. D.

"Macbeth," I. ii. and iii.—

Nearly all of the commentators have been greatly exercised over the apparent inconsistencies in these scenes regarding the thane of Cawdor. He is reported by the thane of Ross (ii. 52-3) as a traitor; while, so far as Macbeth knows (iii. 72-3), "Cawdor lives, a prosperous gentleman." The supposed reference to Macbeth in "Bellona's Bridegroom" (ii. 63) completes the mystification.

Partly as a result of the apparent inconsistency, the authenticity of

scene ii. has been questioned, and one critic, Mr. M. F. Libby, of Toronto, has taken the point as one of the proofs of Macbeth's insincerity and of Ross's villainy, the revised Variorum "Macbeth" quoting at length from Mr. Libby's book. On page 27 of the New Variorum ("Bellona's Bridegroom") is given the following note, which appears to have been overlooked by other editors:

"E. Litchfield (N. & Qu., 10 Sept. 1892): The captain ends his account of the battle against Macdonal and a lord of Norway, in which both Macbeth and Banquo were generals, which battle was fought near Inverness; then Ross arrives and reports on another victory in Fife. Therefore, Bellona's bridegroom was not Macbeth—he could not be in two places at once. The meaning is—until Mars (or the fortune of war), all armed and in their favor, confronted the traitor.—Ed. ii."

In the light of this note it is not strange that Macbeth should be ignorant of what had taken place in Fife, his sincerity regarding Cawdor need not be questioned, and one of the principal doubts as to the authenticity of scene ii. is removed. As the bearing of Mr. Litchfield's remark on the question at issue appears not to have been discussed, it only remains to mention the inferences therefrom.

E. M. D.

(ERRATA: vol. 3.

On page 20, Prof. B. F. Carpenter's note should end with "What is the play about?"

Page 23, line 9, read as follows: As Capell very properly marked

"Too long a pause for that which you find there," (II. ix. 53)

as an "aside," so may we be sure Portia did not mean to utter a criticism upon Arragon's very natural protest, but wished, by deftly evading his questions, to avoid saying anything unkind." It was not intended to show any quotation from Capell; my note, as quoted from "Notes and Queries," ending with "unkind."

Page 29: "entirely of character" should read "entirely out of character."—E. M. D.)

MARGINALIA

THAT SHAKESPEARE; OR— IF IT PLEASETH, ANY OTHER AUTHOR OF THE Plays—knew everything knowable—even to the remotest and most or least incidental item of tradition or bit of Folk lore—has been so long conceded that we were not surprised to receive this letter from an always valued and alert correspondent: "Upon the corner of the moon/There hangs a vaporous drop profound/I'll catch it ere it comes to ground.'—MACBETH III. v. 23. There is an old Jewish superstition that the moon each month distils one venomous drop called 'the Takiefa' which falls to the earth and if it alights upon any greasy or fatty substance it breeds a pestilence. So in strictly orthodox Jewish communities even unto this day it is the duty of the Sexton to visit monthly the houses of members of the Synagogue and warn housewives to place something of iron or steel near any such substances in their kitchens on the day he fixes as the day on which the drop is to fall."—This, however, we ventured to submit to Mr. Joseph Jacobs, ex-president of the England Jewish Historical Society and now the learned Revising Editor of THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPÆDIA, who writes us as follows: "Your correspondent is in error in supposing that this superstition relates to the new moon. It is current with regard to what is known as the Tekufot, or four seasonal periods of the year—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—when it is supposed that drops of poison or blood fall from heaven, and would, therefore, render anything they touched uneatable by Jews. Wells and casks have to be covered, while to preserve meat a knife or other steel object is placed beside it. This superstition cannot be traced back to any Jewish practice or belief, but is found in a popular work of the thirteenth century written by a German Jew. As something similar is found among Germans (compare Grimm, "Teutonic Mythologi" Superstitions, No. 589) it is possible, and even probable that the German Jews learnt it from their Christian neighbors." In describing the loathsome mess (and it might well enough have been a model for the ingredients of the Macbeth witches' cauldron) which the enchantress Erictho prepares for Sextus in the sixth book of the Pharsalia, occurs the passage "Taboque medullas: Abluit et

virus large lunare ministrat: Hac quiquid fetu genuit Natura sinistro." This Riley translates "She bathes his marrow with gore and plentifully supplies venom from the Moon," etc. But, in 1627, four years after The Macbeth appeared in the first Folio, Thomas May published in London his rhymed paraphrase, and his version still more strongly suggests the "drop profound, viz.: "Of the Moone's poysonous gelley store she takes: And all the hateful brood that Nature makes." Thomas May of course might have read Macbeth. But Shakespeare at any rate could not have read the Pharsalia in Mr. May's paraphrase. But how about the Man in the Moon? Of course he is not Lychas, for Antony's "Let me lodge Lychas on the horns o' the moon" (Ant. and Cleopatra, IV. xiii. 45) is only thrasonis meaning that he would fling his temptress further than Hercules hurled his offending servant. But it is not a little curious to find that Shakespeare would not have been without classical authority for asserting that Hercules did hurl Lychas, not into the sea, but into space! "In astro missus fertur et nubis vago spargit cruore" (Seneca, Herc.—Œtœus 815, 822). "All I have to say," says Moon in The Midsummer Nights Dream, "is to tell you that this lantern is the Moon: this thorn bush my thorn bush, and this dog my dog." But why a thorn bush and a dog—in order to present The Moon? In Numbers XV. 32 seq. it is recorded "and while the Children of Israel were in the Wilderness they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-day. And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, because it was not declared what should be done unto him. * * * And the Lord said unto Moses * * * the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp." This reference to the Lord of a Casus omissus in the Law, seems somehow to have been identified in Folk Lore with the dusky resemblance to a human figure which is discernible on the western side of the moon when about eight days old, which might suggest a human figure climbing up an ascent with a bunch of brush upon his back, while a detached object in front might resemble a dog. Chaucer mentions this Sabbath-breaking Israelite

> On her [the moon's] breast a chorle painted ful even
> Bearing a bush of thornes on his backe,
> Which for his thefte might clime so ner the heaven.

And in a MS. temp Edward II. there is a song about the man in the moon which reads:

> "Man in ye moon stand and stit
> On his bot fork burden he beareth

It is much wonder that he na down slit
For doubt lest he fall he shuddrith and shivereth
When ye frost freezes must chill he byde
The thorns be keen his hattren so teareth
His wight in the world there wot when he syt
He bote it by the hedge what weeds he weareth."

Dante—Chaucer's contemporary—twice calls the man with the bush who is imprisoned in the moon, CAIN, thus showing still another variant of the legend.

"For now doth Cain with fork of thorns confine
On either hemisphere, touching the wave
Beneath the towers of Seville—(INFERNO, XX. 125.)

And, again, in Il Paradiso, II. 50: "But tell me what the dusky spots may be upon this body which, below on earth, make people tell that fabulous tale of Cain? * * * and I—what seems to us divine, is caused, I think by bodies rare and dense! * * * this plant doth attenuate," etc.

ALTHOUGH SHAKESPEARE—AS WE HAVE SEEN, MADE NO USE OF THE Bible in his plays, yet volumes which he might have literally drawn upon are constantly coming to light. The latest, to which attention is drawn by Sir Edward Sullivan in the February "Nineteenth Century and After", appears to be a black-letter quarto volume of which only three copies are known to be extant, one in the Signet Library of Edinburgh—one sold at Southby's in 1897, and Sir Edward Sullivan's: entitled: "The Civile Conversation of M. Steeuen Guazzo, written first in Italian, and nowe translated out of French by George Pettie, divided into foure bookes. In the first is conteined in generall, the fruites that may be reaped by conversation and teaching howe to knowe good companie from yll. In the second, the manner of conversation, meete for all persons, which shall come in any companie, out of their owne houses, and then of the perticular points which ought to be observed in companie betweene young men and olde, gentlemen and Yeomen, Princes and private persons, learned and unlearned, Citizens and strangers, Religious and Secular, men and women. In the third, is perticularly set foorth the orders to be observed in conversation within doores, betweene the husband and the wife, the father and the sonne, brother and brother, the maister and the servant. In the fourth, the report of a banquet. Imprinted at London by Richard Watkins 1581." The original, in Italian, was dated

1574, and two French translations by F. Belleforest and G. Chappuys appeared in 1579, and there was a second English edition in 1581 (in this later edition the fourth chapter omitted in the 1581 edition, though mentioned in its title page, was translated by Bartholemew Young). Sir Edward Sullivan calls attention to the following parallelisms between this early work and Shakespeare, which it is hard to believe are the merest coincidences. And certainly there is no reason why Shakespeare should not have read George Pettie's book.

Pettie's Translation.	Shakespeare.
Ad hereto that bewty breedeth temptation, temptation dishonour: for it is a matter almost impossible, and sieldome seene, that those two great enimies, bewty and honesty agree together * * * and though it fall out often that bewty and honesty are joyned togither, yet it falleth out sieldome, but that exquisite bewty is had in suspition.—(Book iii. 5 a.)	Ham. Ha, ha! Are you honest? Ophelia. My lord? Ham. Are you fair? Ophelia. What means your lordship? Ham. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty. Ophelia. Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?—(Hamlet, III. i. 122.)
* * * those which use artificial means, displease God much, in altering his image, and please men never a whit, in going about to deceive them. I know no man of judgement but setteth more, by ods, by a naturall bewty that sheweth but meanly, then by a painted artificial bewty that shineth most gallently.—(iii. 6.)	I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another.—(Id. 156.)
We will maintain then that a woman taking away and changing the colour and complexion which God hath given her, taketh unto her that which belongeth to a harlot.—(iii. 7.)	

PETTIE'S TRANSLATION.

The voyce must be neither fainte * * * neither shrill nor loud like a crier. * * * It is muche in my opinion to keepe a certaine maiestie in the jesture, which speaketh as it were by using silence, and constraineth as it were by way of commaundement, the hearers to have it in admiration and reverence. Yet herein is required such a moderation that a man with too litle be not immoveable like an image, neither with too much, too busie, like an Ape. * * * And therefore it is necessarie to use a meane, that the pronuntiation be neither too swift nor too slow * * * and therefore we must speake freely * * * We must likewise take heede we speake not of the throate, like one that hath some meate in his mouth which is too hotte * * * a player-like kinde of lightness * * * to see the wordes agree to the jesture * * * the hearer to take heede of rude lowtishe lookes * * * and of laughing without occasion * * * so great agreements is there betweene the words and the countenance, and the countenance and the wordes * * * and yet we must see that this change (i.e. of voice) be made with discretion.—(ii. 11, 12, 13.)

This abuse is so in use at this day in Italy, that as well in men as women, a man can discern no difference in estates. And you shal see

SHAKESPEARE.

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue: but if you mouth it * * * I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines * * * but use all gently; for in the very torrent * * * of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance. * * *

Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action: with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. * * * Now this overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve.—(Id. III. ii. 1.)

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich not gaudy:

Pettie's Translation.	Shakespeare.
the Clownes will be as brave as the Artificers, the Artificers as the Merchantes, and the Merchantes as the Gentlemen. * * * But you shall not see this disorder and confusion in Fraunce, where, by auncient custome, severall apparell is worne, according to everie ones calling. So that by the garments only, you may know, etc.— (ii. 46 a.)	For the apparel oft proclaims the man: And they in France, of the best rank and station, Are of a most select and generous chief in that.—(Id. I. iii. 73.)
For our Galen sayth, the disquiet of the minde breedeth the disease of the bodye; and that he hath cured many diseases by bringing the pulses into good temper, and by quieting the minde; but being not so well skilled in curing diseased mindes as I should be, and knowing my selfe to have neede of Phisicke, I will be with you to-morrow, etc.—(iii. 56 a.)	Macb. How does your patient, doctor? Doct. Not so sick my lord, As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies, That keep her from her rest. Macb. Cure her of that. Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased * * * ? Doct. Therein the patient Must minister to himself. Macb. Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it.—(Macbeth, 3, 40.)
Of the wise thou shalt learne to make thy selfe better, Of fooles, to make thy selfe more advised.—(ii. 5.)	I will be a fool in question, hoping to be the wiser by your answer. —(All's well, II. ii. 40.)
Remembering the saying, That the vaine wordes of temporall men, are meere blasphemies in the mouth of spirituall men.—(ii. 64.)	That in the captain's but a choleric word Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.—(Measure for Measure, II. ii. 150.)

Pettie's Translation.	Shakespeare.
that covering to bee courtlike, they become plain cartlike.—(ii. 30 a.)	Baptista. If either of you both love Katharina * * * Leave shall you have to court her at your pleasure.
and later,	
though they take upon them the name of Courtiers, yet in their behaviour they shewe themselves little better than Carters.—(Ib. 36 a.)	Gremio. To cart her rather: she's too rough for me.—(Taming of the Shrew, I. i. 52.)

Sir Edward Sullivan gives a large number of further coincidences—which, though more or less conventional, in view of the above, are perhaps more than usually important as distinguishing Pettie's translation of The Civile Conversation, as their probable source in Shakespeare. But—as in the case of the late most interesting papers of Mr. Churton Collins, "Shakespeare and the Greek Tragedies"; the constant danger of these parallelations is that equally striking coincidences can be found in the Literatures of every other language. The stock of the words, maxims and of what may be called obvious proverbs, is the common property of all tongues. Sir Edward Sullivan's paper is of absorbing interest and of great value, if this discovery is authentic.

Were there Shakespearean Forgers before Ireland? In that curious publication "The Annual Register," which ran in London from 1764 until so recently we believe as 1868, in which the years' events were made palatable to Englishmen (Bunkers Hill and New Orleans being casually noted as affairs between outposts, etc.) mixed up with original poetry (never heard of afterwards) and anything else that came handy, there occurs on page 127 of Vol. XIII (1770) the following "Anecdote" of Shakespeare—never printed in his works. Edward Alleyn, the Garrick of Shakespeare's time, had been on the most friendly footing with our Poet, as well as Ben Johnson. They used frequently to spend their evenings together at the sign of The Globe—somewhere near Black-Friars, where the Play-house then was. The world need not be told that the convivial hours of such a triumvirate must be pleasing as well as profitable, and may truly be said to be such pleasures as might bear the reflections of the morning. In consequence of one of these meetings the following letter was written by G. Peel, a Fellow of Christ Church College, Oxford, and a Dramatick Poet, who belonged to the club—to one Marle—an intimate of his:

"Friend Marle—I must desyre that my Syster hyr watche, and the Cookerie book you promysed may be sent by the man—I never longed for thy company more than last night—we were all very merry at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not scruple to affyrme pleasauntly to thy friend Will that he had stolen his speeche about the qualityes of an Actor's excellencye in Hamlet hys Trajedye from conversations many folde whyche had passed between them and opinyons given by Alleyn to uchinge the subjecte—Shakespeare did not take this talke in good sorte, but Johnson put an end to the strife with wittyle remarkinge—This affaire needeth no contentione—you stole it from Ned, no doubte—do not marval—Have you not seen him act tymes out of number—Believe me most syncerilie, yours, G. Peel."

"As Mr. Alleyn is a character at present little known in the theatrical world, though we need not subjoin any other testimony to his merits than the above compliment from such a judge as Ben Johnson, we shall, however, beg leave to add (by way of shewing it was no friendly partiality) the opinions of Two Gentlemen, whose well established literary characters are too well known to doubt their complimenting at the expense of their genius and sincerity. Dr. Fuller in his worthies says "that Alleyn made any part, especially a magestic one, become him. And Sir Richard Baker, who was a contemporary of his, calls him and Burbage 'the best actors of our time,' adding 'what Plays were ever so pleasing, as when their parts had the greatest part.' And in his Chronicle we find him once more joining Alleyn with Burbage in the following encomium: 'They were two such actors as no age must ever look to see the like.'" In a letter to "The Times Saturday Review," Dr. Morgan spoke of this as an indication that there were Shakespeare forgers before young Ireland's performances in and about the year 1794, basing his belief upon the fact that there was no "Globe" tavern, or house of call; that the letter was neither addressed nor subscribed in the Elizabethan mode; and that the spelling was such as never was on sea or land or anywhere except in forged matter where the forger supposed a superfluity of y s and e s to indicate antiquity. But is it not possible that the anecdote itself may be more or less genuine? The forger of the letter may have heard it traditionally—he may have supposed "Globe" to be the name of an Inn, and so ventured to fix it up as "at the sign of the Globe"! A man ignorant enough for that may well have improvised the spelling (which strongly resembles that of the Ireland forgeries). And then Dr. Morgan must not forget Dr. Halliwell Phillipp's dictum that the real test of the truth of a tradition is to find, if possible, whether at the date of its origin—it was anybody's interest or cue to invent it; or to misrepresent

or to invent facts! It will be remembered that Dr. Halliwell Phillipps always maintained that, although the manuscript of the "Accounts of the Revels" presented to the Authorities of the British Museum in 1842 by Peter Cunningham was an undoubted forgery, yet the list itself was a genuine list ("Outlines," Ninth Edition, Vol. ii, pp. 161-167) and something of the sort may have happened here. For clearly there was no motive in 1770 to forge Shakespeareana. There is always a kind of mind that will prefer deception even at a sacrifice to self. Poor Chatterton "the marvellous boy" if he had produced the undoubtedly meritorious "Rowley Poems as his own: would have hardly failed to become famous. But he chose to clothe the product of his own genius in a clumsy and easily detected forgery and the penalty he suffered cancelled the brilliancy and the marvel of the performance. John Payne Collier did the same thing. Nobody refuses to recognise that the emendata and corrigenda he printed under the invention of "The Old Corrector" were of high value and importance. But by the fiction and the falsehoods he clouded and ultimately ruined his great reputation and died so entirely forgotten, that the news of his death and funeral were announced in the English newspapers of September 21st, 1883, thus: "The Bray Collery Disaster. The remains of the late John Payne, a collier, were interred yesterday afternoon in the Bray churchyard in the presence of a large number of spectators."

Another and a very recent attempt at forgery, if not of Shakespeareana of what we may call "Baco-Shakespeareana" is the following: In the New York Sun of April first (a suggestive date), 1901, appeared the following: To the Editor of the Sun—Sir: It may be interesting to your readers to read the latest information I received from home. My correspondent informs me that some time last month he went to the Khedevial Library in Cairo. He picked at random one of the old Arabic books. While he was turning over its pages, he suddenly found a few stray papers written in English. It seems that those papers were left in that book by a certain Mr. John Bennett about the year 1624. The translation of these papers was as follows: "I came to this country with Lord Bacon as his secretary. My Lord was advised by doctors to go to France for his health. On arriving at Marseilles he met some Venetian gentlemen going to Egypt. He came with them and visited Rasheed and Boulak where he was introduced to the chief of the Mamelukes as the son of Queen Elizabeth, the cousin of King James and the first Judge of England. My Lord is writing his favorite plays but is publishing them under the name of Shakespeare. He is very fond of his special play ("Antony and Cleopatra") which he wrote in 1608. My Lord

was very fond of the Nile, and before ever visiting Egypt he mentioned something about its ebbs in Act II. of that play."

Mr. Bennett goes on to say that Lord Bacon advised the Egyptians at that date to build a reservoir for the Nile near Assouan, a thing which England is now doing. Lord Bacon was very highly pleased with the Arabian Nights which were not yet translated to English, and he was thinking to write a new play on the subject of Sultan Hassan's palace.

The book in which those papers were found is in letter G of the library. I have written to Egypt to have those papers photographed and will try to have them published in America; for if those papers will prove to be authentic it will put an end to the controversy and will prove that "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Merchant of Venice" and others were written by Lord Bacon. S. S. Sarkis, Editor Al Mushir, New York, March 31. Upon which the ever alert Sun remarks: "If Mr. Sarkis's correspondent is not himself trying to humbug him, his find must be the product of some Bacònian joker. Without touching on the question of the authorship of Shakeseare's plays, we may point out that so far as is known Bacon never visited Egypt. After the accession of James I. he was constantly before the public eye, as Solicitor-General, Attorney-General and Lord Chancellor, and after his trial and downfall his time and abode are fully accounted for; he never left England. Moreover his 'secretary' could not have made the vulgar mistake of calling him 'Lord Bacon.' To his contemporaries he was Sir Francis Bacon, or Baron Verulam or Viscount St. Alban; it is the slovenliness of literary historians that has created 'Lord Bacon.'" It may be added that Mr. Sarkis (editor of the Turkish newspaper then published in New York City), never furnished the public with those photographs, so far as we have been able to ascertain.

Still it must be remembered that Shakespeare was considered somewhat of a Forger himself and is continually detected in arranging History to suit his own ideas of how things ought to have been. To cite only the most recent find in this behoof: The story of the committal of King Henry V. while still heir apparent to prison for contempt of court by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir William Gascoigne, so often quoted as an illustration of the independence which the British judiciary have enjoyed even from the most ancient times, seems to have been a pure Shakespearean invention. Diligent search among the official records now brings to light the fact that no such incident ever took place. The annals of the courts of justice, which go back without interruption to a much earlier date, make no mention of the affair, neither is it noted by any contemporary writer, nor by any historian

prior to the time of Shakespeare. This is something better—or worse—that giving Richard III. a hump, or making him the murderer of his own widow!

LEWIS NELSON.

WE FEAR THAT IT MUST BE REGRETFULLY CONFESSED THAT SHAKESPEAREAN associations are not estimated at high figures in money in and around Warwickshire. On what is doubtless the only occasion upon which a Shakespeare consideration has ever appeared before a jury of his own countrymen and his own vicinage, the sum of one farthing sterling was awarded to a lady who the awarding jury itself found to have been sadly not to say grossly libelled in the course of her efforts to arrest desecration and destruction of vestiges of the great Dramatist! It seems that in the course of the proceedings—to the recounting of which NEW SHAKESPEAREANA has already given so many pages—the Stratford-on-Avon "Herald" printed a letter purporting to have been written by a Stratford draper, and commented thereon, and that both letter and comment were printed on slips and circulated extensively through British newspaper offices with the expected result; the gravamen of both letter and circular being the charge that Miss Corelli's efforts on behalf of Shakespeare's Henley Street were prompted by that lady's desire to herself present a Free Library—to be called the Corelli Library—to Shakespeare's town. The letter was a remarkably concise and rhetorical one for a draper—as English drapers go—to write; and, if concocted in the newspaper office for the purpose of the aforesaid comment and press-circulation was certainly (as the presiding justice said in his charge to the jury) "to make a rather nasty insinuation"—and Miss Corelli, in self-respect could have hardly done otherwise than bring her action. We add to our obligations to Miss Corelli our sympathies in the annoyances to which she has been subjected by reason of her efforts to preserve Henley Street for us! From a very complete verbatim report of the trial in the Stratford-on-Avon "Herald" (the defendant newspaper) we draw that the defense—viz: a justification of the libel—utterly failed, no evidence of any sort to that effect being presented, except that Miss Corelli had once inquired the price of certain premises on Henley Street, and had been heard to remark that it was a shame to see so many idlers in Stratford streets when, if there were a library, they might spend their time there. The manuscript original of the draper's letter was demanded but not produced, and the plaintiff's contention that it was "concocted" does not appear to have been laid. We have before us a letter addressed to the jury by Miss Corelli thanking them for so generously assessing "(1) the value set on an honest fight for the preserva-

tion of Shakespearean associations," and (2) "for proclaiming the infinitesimal damage done to her reputation by the publication of the libellous letter and comment. In a communication to the Birmingham "Post" Miss Corelli further says: "I very much wish to state that I have never sought monetary damages. Had I obtained them they would have gone to a charity. And as for paying my own costs, I would not have taken them from the other side. I accept an English jury's award of England's humblest coin as England's thanks for my honest effort to save Shakespearean associations from entire destruction, satisfied that it represents more than it seems; so much more, perchance, that it may even become historic in its own quiet way."

We are afraid that the proverb that a prophet is not without honour save in his own country is no failure as applied to Shakespeare in his own Homeland! Our own correspondence has lately been filled with statements as to continued lese majesté in the very town of Stratford itself. One letter before us states that packs of playing-cards with Shakespeare and divers of his characters for the Honours, and even little "savings Banks" in shape of eggs, with portraits of Shakespeare over the Legend "an eggcelent likeness" are hawked for sale on Henley Street itself! Another letter states that "Shakespearean Pork Pies," according to the "Court Circular" are "made in Stratford, and are much sought after for Hunt breakfasts." Still another letter, from our own special correspondent, bewails the fact that the exterior of the ancient Church of the Guild of the Holy Cross has been treated with a chemical, which, while doubtless of a preservative effect on the stone, is most successful in superficially concealing its antiquity. The romance of old Shottery is rapidly passing too, before the modern demand for building lots—though this perhaps cannot be helped. We confess that we cannot understand the Stratford-on-Avon people at all. We have a public Library here in New York City, but we did not pull down Fraunce's Tavern to build it, nor did Boston destroy Faneuil Hall to erect its public Library. Of course civilization has its demands, and we must not bury the living with the dead, and as populations grow there must come the building-lot and the cheap cottage, sentiment or no sentiment. But as we have repeatedly pointed out there is no need to raze anything to get building-lots in Warwickshire as yet. As we understand our Correspondent, the Burch cottage (crock shop) has gone, leaving only its timbers to be incorporated into this costliest of Free Libraries—erected at the expense of the outraged sensibilities of the whole Shakespeare-venerating world! Meanwhile our correspondent advises tourists to ask to be shown the ancient deeds concerning

the Hornby property which one of the Birthplace trustees admitted on the trial of the Corelli libel that he had not read, and so enable themselves to decide whether the alleged Birthplace has not been preserved "for revenue only" from possible danger of conflagration, at the expense of the real Birthplace elsewhere. So long as Henley Street stood intact such a question could lie quiet for any body's judgment. Now it will never cease to persist. And so we close these pages to an episode to which not even Stratford-on-Avon will ever point with pride. The illustrations in this issue will at least, with their legends, present to our readers a needed ocular demonstration of the whole bad business.

"Our correspondent assures us, though it does not appear to be known in Stratford-on-Avon, that the King is genuinely grieved at the break-up of the time-honoured traditional associations of Henley Street, and would have been glad to see the old place spared from the encroachment of any modern building on the side of the Birthplace, a sentiment which does his Majesty honour, and which is shared by thousands of his loyal subjects."

Dr. Isaac Hull Platt proposes to investigate further as to why "Corambis," in the early Hamlet, was changed to the Polonius of the later versions. Also why Hamlet called Polonius "a fishmonger." Meanwhile Dr. Platt offers the following: "It has often been suggested that in the character of Polonius Lord Burghley is satirised. Polonius's precepts to Laertes are a paraphase of Burghley's precepts to his son Robert when the latter was about to set out on his travels. This was noted by French in Shakespeareana Genealogica, quoted in Dr. Furness's Variorum Hamlet, Vol. II. p. 239.

But why did Hamlet call him a "fishmonger?" The name Polonius may very well be derived from πολέω, to go about, to busy one's self, or from πωλέω, to sell, to hawk, trade, and this might account for the latter part of the word, but why a "fishmonger"? If Polonius was meant by Shakespeare as a lampoon on Burghley the answer is rather clear.

"To make up for the loss to the shipping which the downfall of Catholicism had caused by diminishing the demand for fish, he (Burghley) obtained the passing of a curious law which made the eating of flesh on Friday and Saturday, and on Wednesday unless fish dishes were also placed on the table, a misdemeanor." (Encycl. Brit. Art. Cecil.) When the law was new and fresh in the minds of the people the topical allusion could hardly fail to appear very pointed—and amusing to every one but the Lord Treasurer. In the early version of the play Polonius was called Corambis. Why was the change made? Webster's Dictionary says that Cecil is from the Latin

meaning dim-sighted. Corambis might be derived from coram, face to face, from cora, the pupil of the eye, and bis, double, so Corambis would be equivalent to "Mr. Seeing Double". Perhaps a better derivation would be from coramble, which seems sometimes to have assumed the form corymbe, gen. corymbis, the name of an herb supposed to cause dimness of vision. In either case it would seem like a play on Burghley's family name. This being so it would seem likely that after Burghley's death in 1598, somebody deemed it best to change the name to prevent the satire appearing too obvious. Again: It is well known that Burghley was not above using spies, of whom he employed many; it would be interesting to ascertain whether some servant or agent of his was named Hill or Mount or something similar. This would account for Reynaldo, Polonius's servant, whom he sets as a spy on Laertes, being called Montano in the early version.

The Shakespeare Society of New York, whose Nineteenth Anniversary occurs in this month of April, 1904, owes its inception to Albert R. Frey, Esq., its present Vice-President. In the month of January, 1885, then an officer of the Astor Library in New York City, Mr. Frey suggested to Mr. R. S. Guernsey, Appleton Morgan and others, the foundation of such a Society and steps toward a preliminary organization led to the Society's incorporation April 26, 1885. Dr. Morgan was elected President (an office he still holds), Mr. Guernsey as Vice-president, Mr. Charles C. Marble as Secretary, Mr. Frey as Librarian and the late Mr. James E. Reynolds as Treasurer. At the Society's first meeting under its provisional organization Dr. Halliwell Phillipps was elected the Society's first Honorary member, and at a subsequent meeting December 3rd, 1885, the following letter was read, which is here reprinted from volume 5-6 of the Society's Transactions for its genuine value as a chronicle of the first Shakespeare Society to whose labour—apt to be forgotten in the flood of new names—Shakespearean scholarship owes so much:

"Hollinbury Copse, Brighton, England, 14th November, 1885.—Dear Mr. Appleton Morgan, It will, I fear, be too difficult for me to express, in adequate terms, my appreciation of the compliment that the Shakespeare Society of New York propose to bestow upon me. I take it as exceedingly kind of them so to notice an old bookworm, and let me hope that you will offer my responsive acknowledgments.

"But it occurs to me to submit to their notice a few memoranda on the history of the first Shakespeare Society that was ever formed, in the hope that they may prove of some little interest, especially as evidences that it is

possible for Shakespearean research and criticism to be amicably and temperately conducted for a lengthened period, and thence presumably forever.

"The Shakespeare Society of London was instituted in the year 1840, the then leading members of the council being the director, Mr. Payne Collier; the secretary, Mr. F. G. Tomlins; the treasurer, Mr. Dilke, grandfather of the present Sir Charles Dilke; Rev. William Harness; Charles Knight; Campbell, the poet; Macready, Alexander Dyce, Douglas Jerrold, Sergeant Talfourd, Thomas Wright, and Young, the tragedian. To these were added shortly afterward Bolton Corney, Charles Dickens, Henry Hallam, J. R. Planche and Peter Cunningham, the last named taking the place of Mr. Dilke as treasurer. Later acquisitions included Boyle Bernard, Knight Bruce, John Forster, Rev. H. H. Milman and Sir George Rose.

"The society was especially fortunate in the selection of its director. A fluent speaker, courteous to all, ever in good humor, always ready to encourage younger men in his favourite pursuits, and, withal, a good financier, Payne Collier was the beau idea of the chairman of a literary society.

"Mr. Tomlins, a journalist and dramatic critic, made in every respect an excellent secretary. Replete with good humor and fun, he frequently enlivened what might otherwise have been a somewhat too dull and technical meeting of the council; without allowing all this, I need scarcely add, to interfere with the legitimate duties of his office.

"Mr. Cunningham—kind-hearted, genial Peter—was our excellent treasurer from nearly the commencement to the termination of our society. In common with most literary and scientific bodies, the power of government rested in an oligarchy, and I have specially mentioned these three names, being those in whom the real control of the society was vested, however wisely they accepted the services or adopted the advices of others. But there was, indeed, no one who desired to share in the absolute responsibility of the management; least of all, no one who was foolish enough to aim at the position of a supreme dictator. A few observations from recollection of two or three of the other members of the council may, perhaps, be admissible.

"Macready only attended occasionally, but one of his first steps (he being then the lessee of the Drury Lane Theater) was an announcement that he had placed the names of every member of the council on the free list of that establishment, made an indelible impression on my memory. It was a delightful communication, money then being an exceedingly scarce com-

modity with me; and thus I was enabled to witness and study nearly every evening the best acting of the day, including the unrivaled personification of Imogen by Helen Faucit.

"Alexander Dyce was a frequent attendant. Although sometimes caustic in his writings, he was the reverse at the council and in conversation, and that he was personally one of the kindest and best hearted of men few can vouch with more accuracy than myself, having enjoyed the advantage of his friendship from the days of my boyhood until his death in the year 1869.

"Planche, the most prolific English dramatist England has seen since the days of Heywood, was also a frequent attendant. He was one of the most amiable and genial of men, one whose genius and graceful humor have not as yet been adequately recognized.

"There was not in fact a single member of the council in whom was embedded an element of discord in respect to the objects or management of the society, and having belonged to the council from the time of its institution in 1840, until its dissolution in 1853, I can bear sufficient testimony to the enduring harmony that prevailed.

"The same kind feelings and good humor characterized the annual general meetings, where, I verily believe, if an egotistical literary firebrand had ventured to disturb the general concord—and no one else could have managed such an achievement—he would have been gently and courteously lynched. It is true that I am speaking of a primitive and unenlightened period, before it had been suggested that Shakespeare was somebody else: but even the enunciation of so startling a theory as that would not, I am persuaded, have disturbed the serenity of a body who had perfect reliance on freedom of criticism, leading eventually to the victory of truth.

"A similar catholicity of spirit—the absence of a specific platform—the trenchant and spontaneous rejection, if I understand your scheme rightly, of nothing but offensive dogmatism and insolent criticism—these are the elements that will commend the Shakespeare Society of New York to every temperate student, and demand his earnest wishes for its influence and permanency.

"With a reiteration of my grateful acknowledgments to your society for their kindness, and apologies for intruding upon them this little specimen of an old man's garrulity, believe me, yours faithfully.

"J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps."

Of the many letters of congratulation the society has received for its

Nineteenth Anniversary, we have only room for the following from one of its earliest members, Edward P. Vining, Esq., of San Francisco:

Συμμαθητὴς Οἴνιγξ πόῤῥωθεν τῇ Συνεδρίᾳ τῶν Σαξπηριάνων ἐν Νέᾳ Ἐβορικῇ χαίρειν.

Εἰ ἔῤῥωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. Ἐπειδὴ ἂν νενόμισται ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐδοκίαν ἐκφαίνειν, ἔδοξε μοὶ ὑμῖν γράψαι, περὶ πάντων εὐξάμενος ὑμέας εὐοδοῦσθαι.

Ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οἱ πλέονες τῶν σχολαστικῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ἑταῖροι τῆς συνεδρίας, συλλαβόντες ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ σύγγραμμα τριμηνιαῖον αὐτῆς οὐ γεγόνασι· ὁ γὰρ ὁμότιμος Ὁμήρου οὗ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καθηκὼς οὐ κατὰ γενεὰν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς αἰῶνας προσήκων, πρῶτος εἰς τὴν διάλεκτον ἡμῶν τὴν εὐπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν εὐκαμψίαν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰσήνεγκεν. Ἆρα οὖν τιμᾶν δεῖ αὐτόν.

Ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ

Ἐδουάρδου Οἴνιγγος.

Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
Ἁγίου Φραγκίσκου
ἀρχομένου τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς
τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
α π′ δ′.

At the Triennial Election in April, 1904, Hon. B. Rush Field, M.D., was chosen a Vice-President of the Society in place of Wm. C. Devecmon, Esq., whose term then expired. Edward Merton Dey, Esq., was chosen Honorary Librarian, both to serve for the ensuing three years.

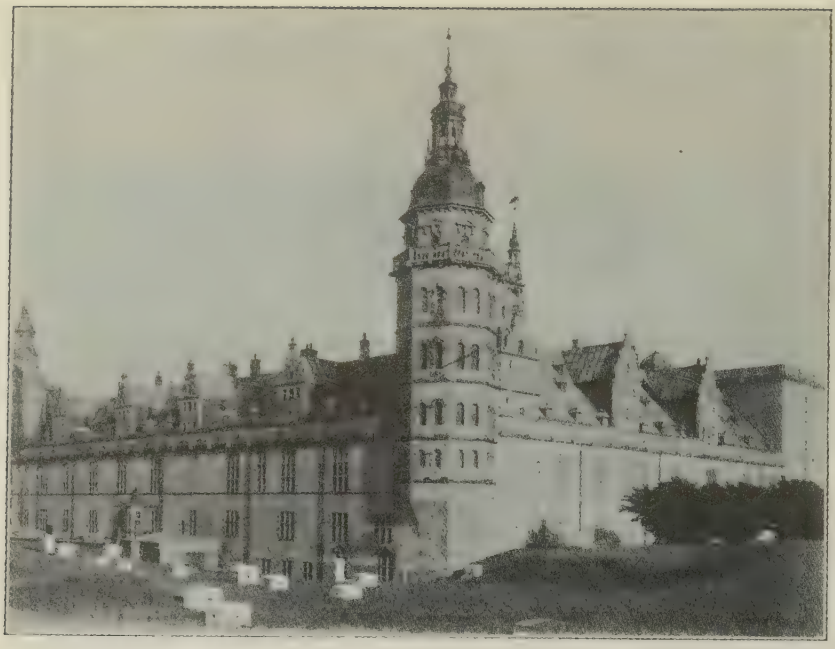
[All April Book Matter, Acknowledgments, Reviews, etc., lie over as usual until the July issue.]

The Editors cannot undertake to return unused manuscripts, though they will endeavor to do so if self-directed stamped envelope is enclosed therewith.

All manuscript must be typewritten. Quotations from the Plays or Poems of more than three lines should be indicated or run into the text, as our exceedingly limited space forbids printing them at length. References should always be by Act, scene and line.

Address all matters intended for the Editors, Books for review, etc., NEW SHAKESPEAREANA, P. O. Box 617, WESTFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

KRONBORG CASTLE, ELSINORE, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY.

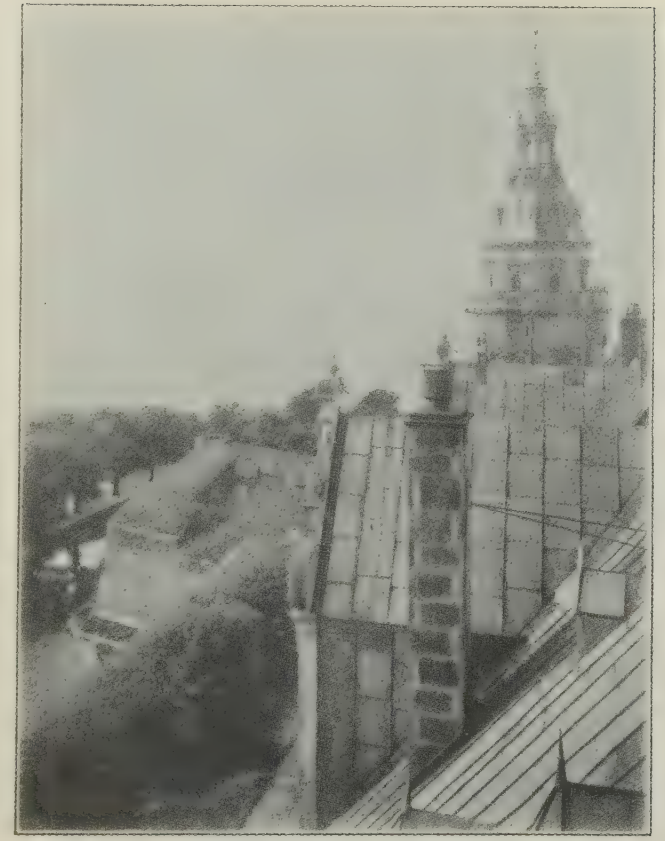


KRONBORG CASTLE—"THE DREADFUL SUMMIT," FROM THE MOAT.

KRONBORG CASTLE—THE PLATFORM WHERE THE GHOST FIRST APPEARED

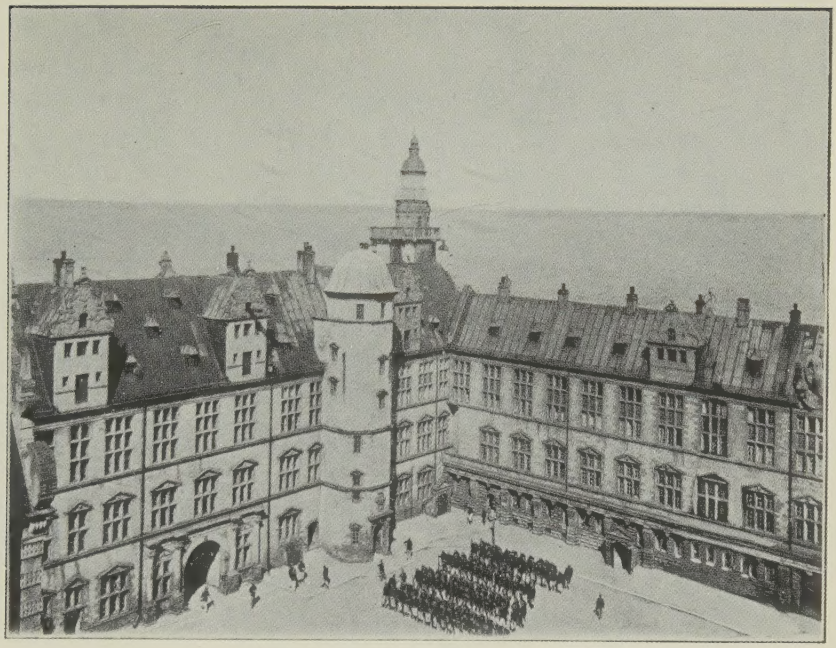
[Hamlet, ACT I, Scene i.]

KRONBORG CASTLE—A ROOM OF STATE.
[Hamlet, Act I, Scene ii.]

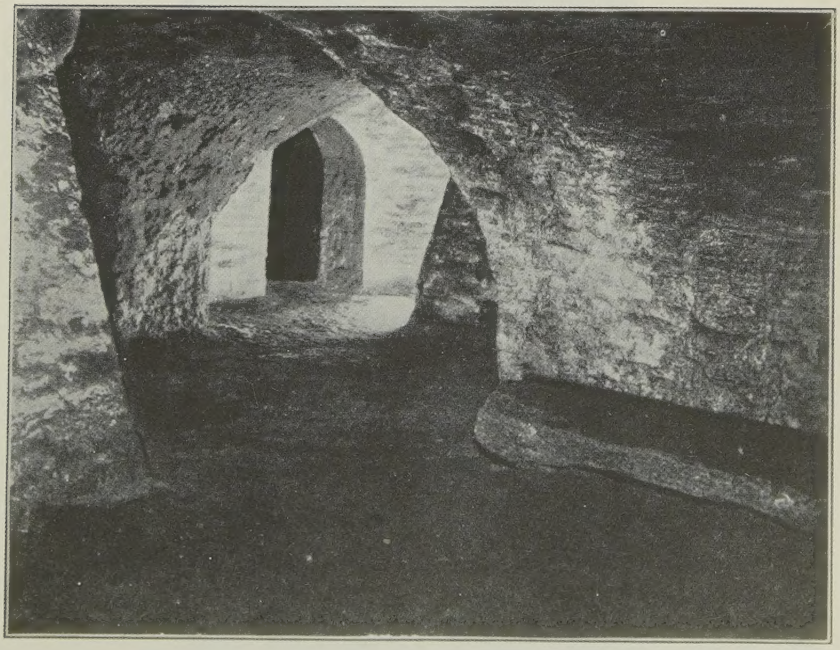


KRONBORG CASTLE—"THE DREADFUL SUMMIT."
[Hamlet, I, iv, 76.]

KRONBORG CASTLE—THE SALLYSPORT.

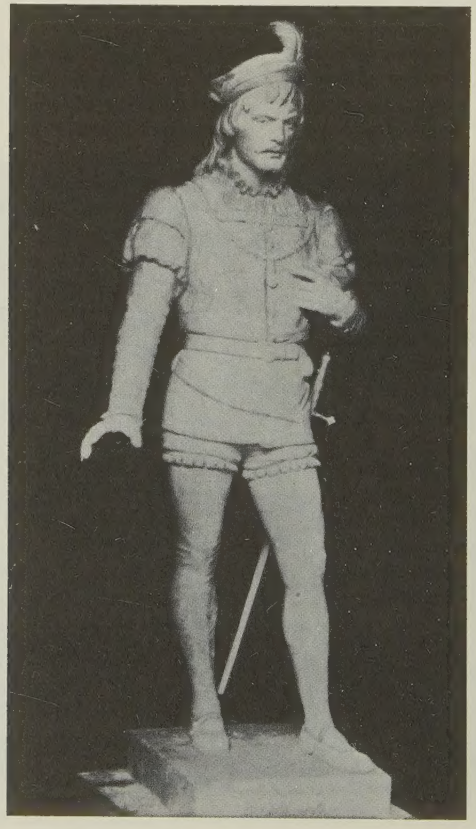


KRONBORG CASTLE—THE PARADE.



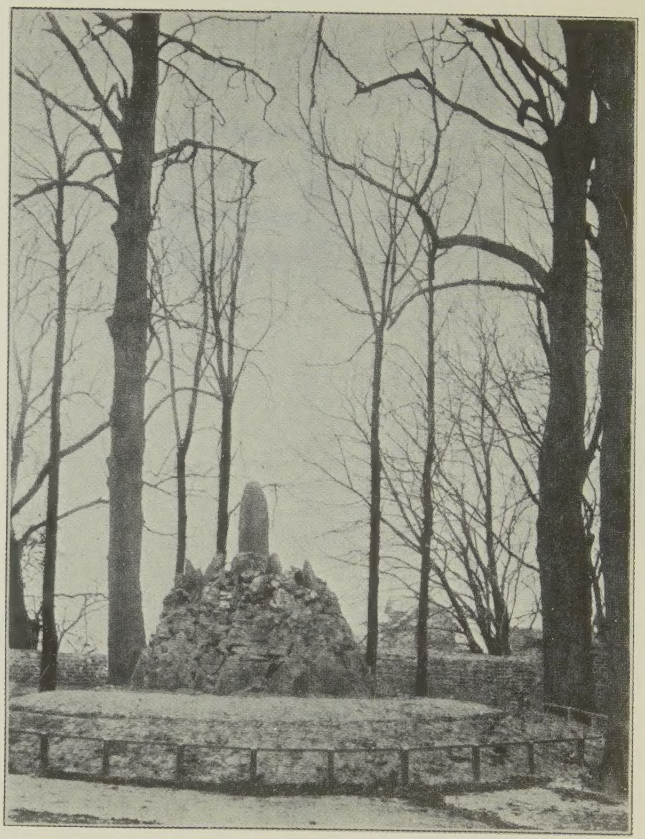
KRONBORG CASTLE—A DONJON KEEP.

KRONBORG CASTLE—QUEEN GERTRUDE'S CHAMBER.
[Hamlet, ACT III, Scene iii.]



MISS NIELSON'S STATUE OF HAMLET.
[Marienlyst.]

"Ophelie's Brook"—Marienlyst.
[Elsinore.]



"Hamlet's Grave"—Marienlyst.
[Elsinore.]